ANOTHER INDO-CHINA?—CLAUDE BOURDET

THE Nation

July 24, 1954
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Making the World Safe from the H-bomb

by David R. Inglis

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EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Labor and McCarthy — *Bernard Nossiter*

Right All Along — *Thomas J. Hamilton*
A Review of Bowers's "My Mission to Spain"

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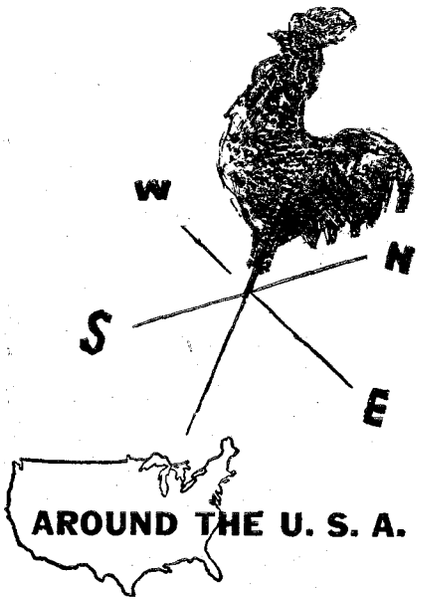

Velde Saves the Northwest

Seattle, Washington

WHEN Representative Velde first planned to expose Communist subversion of the Pacific Northwest, he thought the job could be done in a three-day session conducted by a two-man subcommittee of his House Un-American Activities Committee. This estimate was revised when Mrs. Barbara Hartle, who in 1953 had been sentenced to a five-year term in federal prison for violation of the Smith Act, went to the F. B. I. to recant and report. Mrs. Hartle promised to supply the committee with "more than three hundred names" of local Communists, and the brief routine hearing was therefore extended to a week-long performance before the full committee.

The show opened on June 14 in Seattle's County-City Building. Mrs. Hartle took the witness chair. With the ubiquitous television cameras focused on her face and at times superimposing her image on that of various committee members, she read from her notes a list of former and present members of the Communist Party, naming almost every person with whom she had been associated for the past twenty years, including her two former husbands.

Forty-six witnesses were called. Thirty-five refused to testify concerning past or present Communist activity. Almost all invoked the Fifth Amendment. Some called upon the First, the Fourth, the Sixth, the Ninth, the Tenth, the Thirteenth, the Fourteenth, and the Fifteenth. Many expressed their legal objections to the questions and kept silent. These were politely excused and told to sign their witness vouchers before leaving the room. George Starkovich, a thirty-two-year-old lumber worker, engaged Chairman Velde in a spirited exchange:

Velde: "Do you have contempt in your heart for this committee?"

Witness: "I do and I want it in the record."

Velde: "Would you fight for your nation in Indo-China?"

Witness: "If I were drafted, I would carry out my duty as an American, but at the same time I'll speak out every time I can—let's stay out of Indo-China!"

Velde: "Were you a Communist while in the service?"

Witness: "That's a phony question from a phony Congressman."

The committee recommended to Congress a contempt citation for this witness.

One of the few witnesses called to testify in the afternoon who had not been named in the morning was Dr. Abraham Keller, a teacher at the University of Washington. The committee spent an hour trying to get Keller to identify Joseph Weinberg as a member of the Communist Party. Weinberg had previously been named by the committee as the notorious "Scientist X," allegedly the head of a nation-wide ring of Communist spies, and had been cleared of the charge in the courts. Keller parried the committee's attempts by asking his questioners to establish some criterion for party membership. Representative Gordon Scherer, Ohio Republican, said to Keller: "You're a college professor. You should be able to answer a simple question as to whether a man was a member of the Communist Party." Keller could not.

When Mrs. Hartle named John Caughlan as a member of the Communist Party, she set the stage for the most eagerly awaited scenes of the hearings. In 1948 Caughlan had been acquitted of perjuring himself at an Immigration Board hearing when he had testified he had never been a Communist. He spoke for one hour, meeting the substantive problem of civil liberties head-on.

He invoked the Fifth Amendment. He said that the committee's questions were depriving him of his chief asset, his reputation as an attorney. "This constitutes," he said, "depriving me of my property by defamation." He invoked the Sixth Amendment, stating that he was entitled to a trial by jury to protect his "property." He invoked the Fourth Amendment in defense of his right of privacy, and cited the Ninth and Tenth. "Because the Communist Party may oppose this committee, and I and others do likewise," he said, "we are accused of following the Communist Party line and are tarred with the Communist brush."

A bright spot in the hearings was the action of the Seattle Bar Association. Advised that many of those subpoenaed could not obtain counsel, the association appointed its own president and one of its vice-presidents to represent several witnesses, each of whom, incidentally, invoked the Fifth Amendment after consulting counsel.

MRS. HARTLE kept her promise and named more than three hundred persons. Representative Jackson was beside himself with gratitude. On behalf of the committee he presented a bouquet of flowers to his star witness. "Nobody," he said, "went to jail with more well-wishers. . . . Good luck and Godspeed!"

This investigation even had its own commercials. At least five times each session the proceedings were interrupted while testimonials to the committee were read by Velde or Jackson. Telegrams of congratulation and praise came from the American Gold Star Mothers, the Ballard Elks Lodge, the Everett P. T. A., the Hi-Line Professional Business Women's Club, the Everett Lodge of the Sons of Italy, the Independent Order of Foresters, the Navy Mothers' Club, the Fleet Reserve Association, the Bellingham Central Labor Council, the American Legion, the V. F. W.

In his closing statement Representative Jackson, looking directly into the television cameras, reminded his vast audience of the committee's devotion to fair play, honesty, and patriotism: "Whenever anyone hears ranting or raving by Communists, fellow-sympathizers, and left-wingers generally, they should remember these hearings."

JAY G. SYKES

[*Jay G. Sykes is a Seattle attorney and free-lance writer.*]

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THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Loyal Plumbers

For two months now the U. N. has been trying, without much success, to hire sixteen plumbers, upholsterers, carpenters, bricklayers, pipe coverers, and masons as staff employees. Most of the organization's maintenance workers are employed by contractors, but these men are needed to make the day-to-day emergency repairs—fix leaking pipes, patch the paint, recoil the springs in the furniture, and the like. But while the pipes leak and the paint peels, the loyalty and security clearances required of all American citizens employed as staff members have not been forthcoming. "It's much harder to check a plumber or a carpenter," explains an American security officer, "than a college professor." If the clearances are withheld much longer, the U. N. will be forced to recruit maintenance personnel in Canada, where the loyalty of plumbers is more or less taken for granted. Can it be that the isolationists who have had their eyes on the U. N. headquarters for a long time as a likely piece of real estate, advancing various proposals for its conversion into either an office building or an apartment hotel, have conspired to reduce the asking price by making it impossible for the Secretary General to keep it in repair? The building, gentlemen, is not yet for sale.

Rule of Law

While Dag Hammarskjold struggles manfully with the problem of finding American plumbers of certifiable loyalty, the International Court of Justice, in a nine-to-three ruling, has held that the General Assembly should appropriate the $179,420 requested by the Secretary General to cover the awards to eleven American staff members who were dismissed for having refused to answer questions about possible Communist ties before a Senate committee. The dissent of the American representative was concurred in by a Chilean and a Brazilian, but even Nationalist China's representative joined in the majority opinion. Outraged, Senator Herman Welker has predicted that the decision will have "a terrific impact on the American people's feeling" toward the United Nations. We doubt it. Senator Welker, like Senator Knowland, may feel that it does not violate the American tradition of good sportsmanship and fair play to threaten to walk out of the game when the umpire rules against the home team, but even Senator Ferguson, who did much to stimulate the witch hunt at the U. N., concedes that the ruling of the International Court should be accepted with good grace. The decision should do something to restore the sagging morale of the international secretariat; so should the refusal of the Swiss government to grant the six-man International Organizations Loyalty Board the extra-territorial privilege of conducting a witch hunt on Swiss soil. Rebukes of this sort ought to shame us into adopting somewhat better international manners, but the Washington bully boys are as invulnerable to shame as strip-tease dancers. Like unruly adolescents, they become more sullen and raucous with every attempt to improve their ways.

Tempest in Miami

In an early issue we hope to describe in some detail the ugly witch hunt, with unmistakable overtones of anti-Semitism, that is currently holding the spotlight in Miami. Under the firm impression, apparently, that the Soviets are likely to seize the Naval Air Station of Opa-locka almost any weekend, the Miami *Daily News* has been featuring a series of articles by Damon Runyon, Jr., about local "red" activities, based on the "revelations" of one Al Spears, who is billed as "an undercover man for the F. B. I." The Dale County grand jury has been summoning witnesses as fast as they are named by the talkative Mr. Spears. The district attorney, possibly with an eye on some lofty future eminence, takes the position that since the Florida statute of limitations is two years witnesses are not entitled to invoke the protection of the Fifth Amendment when questioned about matters that happened two years and one day ago. Two witnesses have been found in contempt and given jail sentences, one of a year, the other of ninety days. Both cases are on appeal but bail has been denied.

All this would appear to be another manifestation of a vigilante spirit which must surely delight every enemy of democratic institutions here and abroad. Is the F. B. I. responsible for this outbreak of village fascism? If not, why is it so tardy in disclaiming the informer upon whose revelations it is based? In a recent interview with the Rev. Joseph Barth of the First Unitarian Church in Miami, spokesmen for the F. B. I. expressed some uneasiness about the matter. But the

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public is entitled to know if the bureau has directly or indirectly sanctioned this local name-calling with its disgraceful overtones of group conflict and religious bias. It is also entitled to know whether, under cover of a state statute or proceeding, any citizens are being denied the equal protection of the laws.

New Falangist Line

A MADRID correspondent writes: Now the Falangist radio has another motif in its attacks on France—the Jewish origin of the new Premier. M. Mendès-France is regularly referred to as "that Jew who is ready to sell Indo-China to Ho Chi-minh and Mao."

Of course all the attacks on France, like the earlier attacks on Britain on account of Gibraltar, are little more than attempts to create a political diversion. Anxiety and discontent are rapidly increasing as the people begin to suspect that in case of war the American bases would mean, not protection but the destruction of Spain. The other day in a much frequented Madrid café somebody was passing around an issue of *Life* containing pictures of the hideous effects of the H-bomb explosion. The result was a spontaneous explosion in the coffee house. Many people shouted: "That miserable Franco has sold out Spain to America. One day we shall all be bombed!"—and other such comments. It was an incredible performance—quite open and violent. I only hope that some American tourists were there to witness it.

Black Lists and Gray

In a recent issue of the magazine *Frontier*, Elizabeth Poe pens a devastating analysis of the black lists and gray lists to which Hollywood's hiring policies are geared.

> Prospective employees as well as suspected employees are now called into the office of the studios' "dossier men," and asked to sign letters disavowing past connections. . . . If they sign, they continue to work. Where these dossiers come from is a mystery, aside from the obvious public sources such as the reports of the House committee. People whose names have never appeared publicly in any official report have found themselves confronted with lists of organizations of which they were members years ago. Nobody other than studio executives knows whether these private investigators are investigating everybody on the studio pay rolls or only those employees on whom the studios receive some information from one of the volunteer organizations such as the Legion, other unidentifiable groups, or perhaps some person with a personal grudge.

Casualties of the "dossier men" so far include more than 200 writers, actors, and so forth, on the official hiring black list and scores more—against whom no public charges have been made—on a gray list which is equally effective in banning employment. One writer

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who lost his job was charged with having attended a war-time meeting of the Writers' Congress—to which, incidentally, Franklin D. Roosevelt and Wendell Willkie had sent greetings. Dismissed employees are given no opportunity to face their unknown accusers, are permitted no trial, and are granted no right of appeal.

Such is McCarthyism at work in a citadel of a great nation's culture. So crushing and well-documented is *Frontier's* exposé that a smart movie mogul could turn it into handsome profits for his studio. All he would have to do would be to change the locale to Moscow, turn the "dossier men" into "political commissars," dress the investigators in the long coats and padded shoulders of the secret state police, and he would have a sure-fire hit.

Back in Business

THE junior Senator from Wisconsin is back in business, brash as ever, selling the same old bilious "Indian Charlie" patent medicine at the same old stand in the old familiar style. A little off form when he returned to Washington from a seventeen-day vacation "south of the Rio Grande,"—nervous, his hands shaking—he dismissed reporters without giving them a headline and hurried from the airport. But his nerves were doubtless quieted by the unanimous decision of the twelve-man Republican Policy Committee to support Senator Knowland's proposal to table Senator Ralph Flanders's motion to remove McCarthy as chairman of the Senate Investigations Committee. With typical boldness he has now resumed the chairmanship of the committee, outmaneuvered the Democrats by refusing to recognize Senator McClellan's proxy, and delayed, perhaps until after the Arkansas primary on July 27, any effort to "clean up" the committee's staff. The meeting at which Joe picked up the gavel was a long two-hour closed session described as "stormy." However stormy Senators Symington and Jackson may have been on the staff issue, they once again demonstrated their inability to oppose McCarthy effectively, first, by voting contempt citations against two Harvard professors who had refused to tattle on former associates, and, second, by failing to block further hearings until the staff question is resolved.

At this writing Senator Flanders, receding from his attempt to remove McCarthy from the chairmanship, is attempting to force a roll-call vote on a motion of censure. As one top spokesman put it to us, the Democrats are "wrestling with themselves on this issue." The leadership insists that McCarthy is the Republicans' problem. Yet it should be obvious that if McCarthy were removed as chairman or otherwise censured it would undercut the effectiveness of any campaigning he may do this fall. Indeed Senator Flanders's proposal to censure the Wisconsin Senator gave the Democrats a fine opportunity —the last good pre-election opportunity they will have —to make an issue of McCarthyism. But the old aversion to facing up to the "soft-on-communism" blackmail will not down. Then there are the Dixiecrats who contend that it would weaken the "two-party system" if the majority party's right to organize the Senate were upset by a coalition of Republicans and Democrats. This is strange doctrine from Dixiecrats who are experts in coalition politics and haven't believed in the two-party system since the days of John C. Calhoun. No one questions the majority's right to organize the Senate. The real issue is whether the Senate, as a matter of self-respect, can afford to ignore McCarthy's contemptuous behavior. The immediate danger is that the Senate will decide not to clean house by rebuking McCarthy but once again to evade its responsibilities by "cleaning up" the committee's staff. This will fool no one and it will keep McCarthy in business. Senator Flanders's maneuver may have been poorly planned and not well thought-out but it should be supported all the same.

Guatemala Bulletin

HAVING courageously rescued the Western Hemisphere from the imminent threat of destruction at the hands of several Communists holding influential jobs in the Republic of Guatemala, the Eisenhower Administration last week completed its victory by recognizing the right-wing junta which it had set up in office. Do not imagine this was a mere matter of form. On the contrary, the State Department took its time and before putting the seal of official American approval on its hand-picked *caudillo* made sure, as the New York *Times* reported, that the Castillo Armas regime had the "true anti-Communist flavor."

But now comes the pay-off, for the flavor of anti-communism, however delightful, is not potent enough by itself to run a country. Mr. Dulles has volunteered that the United States would "continue [sic] to support the just aspirations of the Guatemalan people." He has also offered to help "alleviate conditions in Guatemala and elsewhere which might afford communism an opportunity to spread its tentacles throughout the hemisphere." And Colonel Castillo has outlined a plan of reform to take the place of the actual reforms initiated by his predecessors. But his first acts have been strictly in the tradition of Latin American dictators serving their own and their masters' interests. As reported here last week, he has disfranchised all who cannot read and write—in other words about three-fourths of the people. Since then, according to an A. P. dispatch, he has decreed the dissolution of all political parties that had backed the left-wing government of ousted President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman. Considering that the pro-Arbenz parties held 95 per cent of the seats in the national Parliament, it

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seems odd that the story of their dissolution was told in just over five lines of type and buried deep in the back pages of the papers.

But odder still is the notion that with only a quarter of the population allowed to vote and only one party—extremely small and extremely reactionary—left above ground, the just aspirations of the Guatemalan people will somehow be ascertained and fulfilled by Mr. Dulles and his certified anti-Communist junta. We are waiting eagerly to see how it is done.

END OF A CRUSADE?

Our Hesitant Allies . . *by J. Alvarez del Vayo*

Washington

EVEN after his departure, Secretary Dulles's brief visit to Paris continues to play an important role in the last phase of the Geneva conference. By going to Paris to meet Premier Mendès-France, he adroitly found his way out of an almost impossible situation. Considering what both he and the President had been saying, and in view of the extreme position taken by Knowland and the know-nothing wing of the Republican Party, it was impossible for him to go to Geneva without precipitating a first-class party row. At the same time it was impossible for him to ignore entirely the entreaties from Paris and London and permit a cease-fire agreement, inevitable in any case, to be signed in an atmosphere of complete collapse of Western unity. The Paris trip was an intelligent compromise suggested by Mendès-France. In extending the invitation the French Premier did a service not only to Mr. Dulles but to himself, for he stilled—at least for the moment—the Laniel-Bidault opposition which had been accusing him of having "isolated France from America."

Mr. Dulles's difficulties are not over, of course. He wants simultaneously to dissociate the United States from the truce and to influence its terms. Nor are some of the American ideas on an Indo-China settlement easy to defend. Mr. Dulles energetically backs French opposition to early free elections in Vietnam, where the Communists might win, even as he demands them in Korea and Germany, where the Communists are sure to lose. One could of course argue correctly that the Communists are being equally inconsistent. But it is from the West, not from the Communists, that the world expects strict adherence to the forms of classical democracy. The insistence on trying to save Laos and Cambodia not only for their own sake but to protect the periphery of the prospective Southeast Asian alliance intensified Communist suspicions and was one of the most intractable issues of the final days.

Mr. Dulles's mission to Paris may serve to open the eyes of the American people to certain facts which have hitherto been obscured, mostly by wishful thinking. Despite the forthright comments of such solid experts as James Reston, Howard K. Smith, the Alsops, Walter Millis, Walter Lippmann, and others, most Americans do not yet realize the extent of the defeat suffered by Washington diplomacy in the last few months. Optimistic by nature, they are perhaps too ready to derive comfort from headlines which tell them that Mr. Churchill has retreated on the question of the admission of China to the United Nations. The retreat, though real, is only temporary, and sooner or later the American people will have to face the fact that the British Commonwealth will be practically united in demanding a seat for Peking in the world organization. The American press, seeking to satisfy its readers' unquenchable thirst for cheerful news, is inclined to convey the impression that forty-eight hours of discussion among Messrs. Dulles, Eden, and Mendès-France have been sufficient to repair all rents in the Western coalition.

IT can be argued that Mr. Dulles's famous address before the Overseas Press Club sounded the knell of the Truman-Acheson foreign policy and the inauguration of the new aggressive anti-Communist policy of the Eisenhower regime. On many aspects of the long series of events which followed the Dulles speech there is room for legitimate differences of opinion, but I think that all realistic observers will agree on three fundamental facts. First, it has been definitively established that the other powers of the Atlantic coalition will refuse to accompany the United States on any kind of anti-Communist crusade that might end in a world war. No World War III except one resulting from overt aggression by Russia or China could be started with any assurance that NATO, including Great Britain and France, would be fighting on the American side. And it can be taken as axiomatic that neither of the two great Communist powers—unless they lose their heads—would endanger the enormous diplomatic gains they have made in recent months by launching any such military adventure.

Second, Washington is steadily losing "reliable" allies who can be counted on to support a foreign policy based on "liberation" or "roll-back." In Asia the roster will one day be limited to South Korea, Formosa, Thailand, and perhaps one or two other minor military powers. In Europe the prospect is even bleaker. One day West Germany, whether armed under E. D. C. or by the United States directly, will take its destiny in its own hands and ultimately either strike for the restoration of its lost territories or link its future with the East.

Third, on the basis of the foregoing premises, it would appear that there will be war only if the United States chooses to go it alone—unless you call Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek company. Most European diplomats to

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whom I have spoken agree that such an eventuality is very unlikely so long as a soldier like Eisenhower, who has a realistic appreciation of the military difficulties of such a course, remains in the White House. There is another factor working against the powerful go-it-alone clique in Washington. The Republican hierarchy is undoubtedly convinced that military intervention in Indo-China would prove catastrophic for the November elections: there is no political profit in getting out of one war only to become involved in another. Yet the go-it-aloners are strong enough, and the cold-war tensions so incalculable, that one must always reckon with the improbable.

AS this week began, with the fateful deadline set by Pierre Mendès-France only forty-eight hours off, the negotiators at Geneva were engaged in the toughest trading of the whole conference. When still in the opposition, Mendès-France consistently warned that the refusal of successive French governments to negotiate with Ho Chi-minh while there were still good cards in their hands would lead to a fatal deterioration of the situation, with no alternative but surrender. Once head of the government, he could not accept surrender. In fact, during the last few days he took a stiffer stand than his predecessors, promising a continuation of the war if the talks failed, with French conscripts sent as reinforcements and an appeal to America for more help. He was there to obtain the maximum that could be had: the port of Haiphong (since Hanoi was already beyond saving), a line along the sixteenth parallel instead of the fourteenth as demanded by the Communists, and as distant a date as possible for elections in Vietnam.

The Communists, in their turn, were evidently standing pat until the last minute to see how much the hard-pressed French premier would yield, but a Sunday dispatch from the Chinese side revealed an awareness of the advantages that might be gained from moderation and the disadvantage of pressing for the full price that Ho's military position would otherwise justify. A truce now would greatly increase the already enhanced prestige of Chou En-lai. And the Geneva conference, which the United States so firmly declined to regard as the "Big Five" conference, would end by establishing the Peking government on the topmost level of the international community. An agreement reached at Geneva would also multiply the difficulties faced by Washington in attempting to bar Communist China from representation in the United Nations.

ANOTHER INDO-CHINA?

North African Headache . . . *by Claude Bourdet*

AFTER the murder of Tunisia's great labor leader, Ferhat Hached, in December, 1952, his widow sought a French lawyer who was honest, courageous, and had enough political influence in France to counter the attempts of the colonial administration to hush up the crime. The Paris representative of the Tunisian Neo-Destourian Party—the colony's biggest nationalist party, of which Hached was one of the top leaders—asked Pierre Mendès-France to accept the job. He did.

Up to then Mendès-France had shown little interest in colonial affairs as such. His fight against the war in Indo-China had been mainly against what he termed a crazy involvement in a problem too big for too small a nation; his position had nothing to do with anti-colonialism. Nor had he any particular interest in the Arab world; his wife comes from a French Jewish family long established in Cairo, and I would imagine that he himself, like many French Jews, has been under the influence of the Third Republic's policy towards the Jews of North Africa, tending to use them as allies of the colonial administration against the Moslems. So the Neo-Destourians' choice of counsel was in a way a gamble: it is a credit to their political ingenuity that they chose to take the risk.

Mendès-France came back from Tunis, I think, sick with disgust. He realized what he had not imagined possible: that the French colonial police was a Gestapo in French uniform. Not only had he heard everywhere tales of torture; he had himself helped to set free men accused of terrorist attacks who had been tortured and had "confessed" even though they had been in prison on other charges at the time the alleged crimes took place. He also learned what everybody in the Tunisian administration and in official and newspaper circles in Paris already knew, but what had been for the most part carefully hidden from the French public: Ferhat Hached had been murdered by a gang of police thugs organized by fascist settlers and by part of the French police.

On the whole Mendès-France learned a lot about colonialism from his Tunisian visit. But this meant little at the time, for France's policy in the Moghreb was then dominated by a coalition representing M. Bidault's sectarian anti-Moslem imperialism and the more practical ambitions of the settlers' lobby. When Closterman, the Gaullist deputy and wartime R.A.F. ace, one of the more moderate leaders of French business in Morocco, beseeched Bidault in May, 1953, to stop supporting the colonial administration's drive against the Sultan, Bidault answered with a shrug, "I will never let the Crescent defeat the Cross." A few weeks later Bidault's subordinates encouraged a rebellion of southern Berbers against the Sultan, who was deposed "to prevent trouble." Morocco has been afire ever since.

CLAUDE BOURDET, editor of L'Observateur *of Paris, is a frequent contributor to* The Nation.

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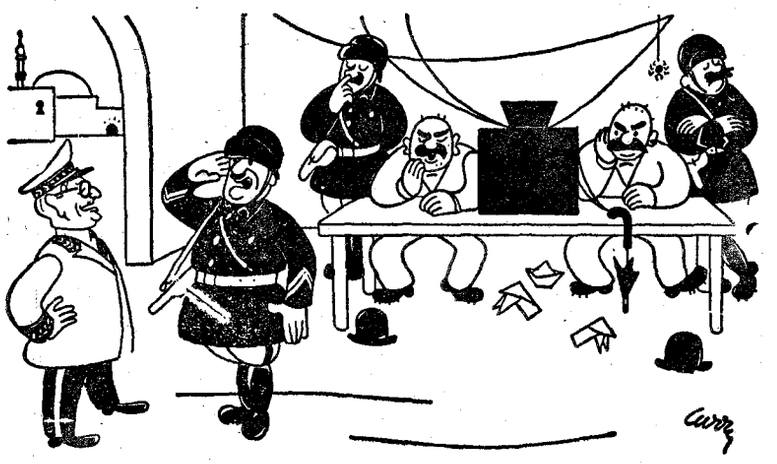
Bidault's Christian Democratic Party, the M.R.P., apart from a few of its leaders like Bidault himself and Maurice Schumann, former Under Secretary of State, favors a more liberal policy toward Tunisia and Morocco. But the M.R.P., as are all Vatican-dominated parties in Europe, is committed to the European Defense Community as a means of building the small Catholic-controlled Europe of the Holy See's dreams. E.D.C. is distasteful to most Frenchmen, whether left, center, or right, except for this Catholic group, a minority of extreme Burnhamian "roll-backers," and some idealists who do not seem to have studied the Bonn and Paris treaties. So the more anti-colonialist M.R.P.'s have had to accept a kind of horse trade with the pro-colonialists of their own party: "You accept E.D.C. and we accept police-state methods in North Africa."

This deal largely accounts for the fact that when the colonial administration slaughtered more than a thousand Moroccans in Casablanca in December, 1952, Robert Schuman, then Foreign Minister, could do no more than complain plaintively in the respectable review *La Nef* that he did not have much power, after all, regarding the North African parts of his administration.

The results of a policy which combines weakness, crooked bargaining, and ruthless support of colonial interests are now apparent. In Morocco, a country which had known little if any political violence in earlier days, a variety of assaults, shootings, bombings, arson, and sabotage have become daily occurrences. The Arab terrorists first struck against the "collaborators" among their own people; now they strike against the colonialist leaders. The murder of the Tunisian publisher Eyraud, one of the most violently reactionary of the French settlers in Morocco, sent a wave of anxiety through the whole French population. The police under General Guillaume have answered with equal ruthlessness, deporting such nationalist leaders as still remained in the country, torturing prisoners, and offering premiums for the capture of terrorists. But as in Indo-China, the population is clearly on the side of the rebels. A man can shoot his chosen victim in the street; nobody will bear witness. Moreover, the elimination of the traditional nationalist leaders (nearly all are in concentration camps, some are abroad, a few in hiding) has resulted in changing the character of the movement's leadership. In the place of the peace-loving if highly vocal bourgeois chieftains of the Moroccan Istiqlal Party, a new group of much "harder" people, most of them of labor or peasant origin, has taken charge. They would not hesitate at outright war if they could get sufficient arms smuggled across the border of Spanish Morocco. As a result of Franco's pro-Arab policy—and also of his desire not to repeat French mistakes—the nationalists in Spanish Morocco are having a quieter time and somewhat more freedom. It is not one of the least ludicrous contradictions of the present situation that the Moroccan leaders should be obliged to look toward fascist Spain for some tolerance and support.

In Tunisia things are just as bad. Practically all the Destourian leaders are in prison; the personally charming, politically moderate Habib Bourguiba has been deported to an island off the coast of Britanny; the Tunisians look upon him as their Joan of Arc. As in Morocco, violence flares daily. The proximity of the Libyan frontier makes it easy to smuggle arms from the Arab countries, and the conflict is gradually taking on the form of an armed rebellion. A year ago it was customary to describe the *fellagas* operating in southern Tunisia as "bandits"; today no French military authority would deny that they constitute a small but well-organized army.



Franc-Tireur

"Where the devil are the voters?"
"In prison, Mr. Resident General."

ALL this is gradually becoming known to the French public despite the veil of silence put up by the big French daily and weekly press, the publishers of which are often closely identified with colonial big-business interests. Yet curiously some of these same business interests are now beginning to urge a reappraisal of colonial policy. In Morocco a group of wealthy settlers, some of whom are in contact with Catholic business circles, have issued a strong plea for a more liberal policy as the only means of putting a stop to the growing violence. The same thing has happened in Tunisia, where a part of the administration as well as many important business men are clearly trying to separate themselves from the fascist circles which engineered Hached's murder. But so far these voices have been pleading in the wilderness. The appointment of M. Voizard as the new High Commissioner in Tunisia last year and of M. Lacoste in Morocco this year gave hope that policy would change in both areas. But as long as the Bidault-Martinaud crowd were in power in Paris, hope continued to be dashed. Voizard's "reforms" in Tunisia, Lacoste's attitude when he arrived in Morocco, proved to be nothing more than another attempt to camouflage the traditional colonial policies which led to such splendid results in Indo-China.

Now, at last, with Mendès-France in power, things *can* change. Does it mean that they *will?* All one can say is that there is a chance. The settlers' lobby and the paranoiacs are out of government. Francois Mitterand, the only minister who resigned from Laniel's government in protest against the deposition of the Sultan, is back in service. Other of Mendès-France's ministers are

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known for their liberal views regarding North Africa. I have already spoken of his own feelings toward Tunisia. There is not the slightest doubt that his inclination would be to bring Bourguiba back and negotiate with the real representatives of the Tunisian people. But the present government in Paris is supported by a right-wing coalition, and Mendès-France's power is yet too new and his regime too shaky to allow him to strike out on an independent line.

Mendès-France knows that something must be done; he has said as much. But to suppress the French police state in North Africa he will need popular strength so great that he can defy his right-wing supporters. The success of his Indo-China plan could bring him that. For the next couple of months, however, it is conceivable that the situation in North Africa will continue to deteriorate. The fact that Mendès-France has not yet been able to do anything has already been a terrible disappointment to the nationalists, who were expecting much from him.

There is a fundamental condition for any sane approach to the Franco-North African problem, which is that Mendès-France remain in power. And there is a permanent and growing threat against him—the Anglo-American pressure for German rearmament which is capable of breaking up his majority. It may be that the first result of the State Department's German policy will be to ruin all chances for a North African settlement so long desired by Washington.

H-BOMB CONTROL

Safeguarding the World . . . *by David R. Inglis*

BEFORE the U. N. Assembly last December, President Eisenhower spoke eloquently of our desire to seek "more than a mere reduction or elimination of atomic materials available for military purposes" and made his famous atom-pool proposal for adapting these materials to the "arts of peace" on an international basis. The proposal met Soviet rejection at the time and failed to reduce East-West tension, but its failure does not mean that a carefully devised, practical, and mutually advantageous arms-limitation proposal, if made now, would meet a similar fate.

Addressing the Supreme Soviet early this year, Malenkov expressed the realization that both sides, not just the "capitalist" powers, stood to lose an atomic war. This was the first indication that the magnitude of the threat of mutual annihilation had penetrated the consciousness of the Soviet leaders. Preliminary reports of the recent secret meeting in London of a U. N. subcommittee on disarmament unfortunately suggest that no unusual effort was made to exploit the new awareness, and these meetings seem to have followed the frustrating pattern of earlier, more widely publicized negotiations.

The last of those earlier negotiations took place in the U. N. Disarmament Commission in the spring and summer of 1952. By then the West's proposals had changed only a little from their original 1946 form, the "Baruch plan." They were still based on that plan, although it was already obsolete in that it paid too much attention to avoiding the new production of atomic weapons and too little to accounting for past production. The new feature proposed by the United States in 1952 was an "arms count," a plan for the progressive (in five stages) disclosure and verification of the extent and nature of atomic and conventional armaments by both sides. This was based on the idea that one cannot talk about armament reduction without knowing what armaments exist, but it was unrealistic because it demanded great sacrifices without providing any incentive except the hope of further agreement.

Jules Moch

The Soviets' position had also changed but little from their earliest proposals. They still demanded starting off with a blanket prohibition of atomic weapons, though they had relaxed on the question of the veto in the routine conduct of atomic control and admitted that inspection, in some ill-defined way, must be continuous. They opposed the idea of proceeding by stages in order to build up mutual confidence. Each side seemed to consider its proposals perfectly safe in the sense that they stood no chance of being accepted by the other side or of stopping the arms race, which was politically expedient and did not yet threaten catastrophe.

This was the situation when the French delegate, Jules Moch, made his valiant attempt to reconcile the opposing sides with a proposal similar to that which he outlined recently in these pages (Banning the H-Bomb—a Feasible Program, by Jules Moch, *The Nation* May 15, 1954). Instead of five stages as proposed by one side or a single-step introduction of prohibition and controls as proposed by the other,

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Stuttgarter Nachrichten

Last Hydrogen Bomb Test: "Sorry, we miscalculated a little."

Moch advocated a three-stage plan in which the "arms count" feature was dovetailed with steps of actual disarmament.

As he presented it in *The Nation,* the French scheme suggested, along with limitation of conventional armaments, that atomic production be stopped while international inspectors got acquainted with the production plants. In the last stage production would be resumed and all the nations would trustfully beat atomic swords into plowshares. This seems like the right spirit in which to go about disarming, and a good logical order in which to do it among friends, but it also shows how superficially the statesmen most concerned have considered the problem of designing a mutually advantageous disarmament plan capable of functioning in a distrustful world.

Besides outlining the French proposal, M. Moch in his article made the personal suggestion that it might be relatively easy to get an agreement to ban H-bombs and control A-bombs. But he based this view on two serious misconceptions. "It is not unlikely," he said, "that before long nobody will dare to continue experiments with the H-bomb." In reality, neither of the principal contenders in the armament race will dare not to so long as no agreement is reached. He then suggested that it would be practicable to "prohibit the use" of H-bombs because the detonation of an H-bomb can be detected thousands of miles away. In reality, although the ease of distant detection does make practicable a ban on the *testing* of H-bombs, it provides no check at all on whether they are being stockpiled.

M. Moch was at an obvious disadvantage, as is any statesman not representing one of the two chief antagonists, in not having access to all the atomic facts of life on which a practicable proposal must be based. Still, it is a pity that some statesman not directly involved in the atomic-armaments race has not pushed more detailed proposals, since the representives of the "atomic colossi," to use Eisenhower's words, have apparently been too preoccupied with "malevolently eyeing each other." In particular, American and other Western statesmen are preoccupied with preventing further expansion of the Soviet orbit as a necessary precondition to confronting the Kremlin with a choice between reasonable agreement and mutual atomic annihilation. They do not seem to be thinking much about possible types of agreement or to be trying to hasten an over-all settlement by coupling it with an attractive disarmament proposal including atomic weapons.

SINCE the technical problem of designing a possible agreement with adequate guaranties is becoming rapidly more difficult with the accumulation of atomic stockpiles, it is dangerous at this crucial time to have a virtual moratorium on creative thought about possible agreements. Our country should have a high-level group of imaginative thinkers, perhaps a successor to the State Department Panel on Disarmament of 1952, at work on the problem of devising and evaluating possible reasonable agreements in all details. Our diplomats have waited too long for the other side to change its mind spontaneously and agree about the general approach before worrying about the details. It is high time to see if a complete agreement cannot be devised so mutually advantageous as to make the Soviet leaders change their minds. An adequate plan may not be still possible, but the stakes are high enough to make the gamble worth while. Since the United States seems to be letting the problem go by default, other countries might well take a try at it. They might do better than we could in devising something acceptable to both sides. At the very least it would be interesting to have M. Moch fill in some of the details of the French proposal and see how it shapes up.

SUPPOSE both sides are convinced that to continue the arms race is to march blindly over the brink of disaster. Suppose they are convinced so thoroughly that they are willing to abandon the traditional idea of seeking "security" in unlimited development of national armaments, provided an agreement can be reached which will really limit both sides proportionately and prevent foul play. What are the requirements of such an agreement?

The first is that it provide each nation with assurances that as arms reduction is carried out, the other side will not at any stage gain a temporary advantage that might tempt it to commit aggression. This means balancing the concessions as they are required. The second requirement is that it offer the certainty that no arms cache of dangerous proportions has been secreted. The compact nature of atomic armaments makes this a very tough problem. Once carefully hidden, they cannot be found with certainty by any practicable search of a country. Of course, the plants in which atomic materials are made are conspicuous, and it is hoped that the amounts they produced before the control agreement came into effect can be ascertained with some exactness. This would limit the possible hidden stockpiles to a size considerably smaller than the present actual stockpiles. It is very important to lessen the uncertainty as much as possible in order to foster mutual confidence in the working of the agreement. The technical means for inspecting the production plants to this end, extracting and interpreting radioactive tracer elements, and other such proceedures should be carefully considered and written into the agreement.

There is also the problem of preventing the diversion of atomic materials

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from future industrial production into a secret arms cache, but this will be a minor problem compared with accounting for the stockpiles. It could probably be solved through careful international inspection, without such international ownership of production plants as the Baruch proposal called for. But actually production of atomic materials for industrial use would be unnecessary for a long time if an arms-reduction agreement went into effect, for it would be a long time before power reactors could consume the reserve atomic fuel retired from military service. It is true that some power-producing reactors create more fissionable material than they consume, but this type is more expensive to construct and less able to compete in cost with coal.

The danger of a hidden stockpile of A-bombs is of course increased by the possibility that they might be converted into H-bombs. How much it is increased is veiled in secrecy, for we do not know how many A-bombs, or their equivalent in atomic materials, it takes to make an H-bomb. This is one of the reasons why a very thorough study is needed at high level to determine whether a disarmament agreement is technically possible —that is, whether technical guaranties of a politically reasonable degree of compliance can be provided. It seems likely that at best an agreement will have to operate in spite of suspicions by each side that the other may possibly have a small hidden stockpile, perhaps big enough to destroy several cities but not to make an overwhelming attack on all the cities of a country. The agreement might have to provide that each side be allowed to retain, at least for a considerable time, some limited power of atomic retaliation. Perhaps more important, the control agreement should provide for control or elimination of long-range vehicles that might be used to deliver H-bombs and for retention by both sides of a high degree of purely defensive preparedness, such as radar screens and short-range interceptor missiles.

Not only should a prospective disarmament agreement contain these technical provisions, but the various political and military concessions necessary for its achievement should be carefully balanced so as to make it as attractive as possible to both. The Soviets rely more on submarines and we on surface ships; they more on the numerical superiority of the Red Army and we on our larger atomic stockpile. These facts must be taken into account in balancing concessions at the various stages. (It is at this point that the Western powers' proposals at the recent London meetings most clearly fell short of constituting a tempting offer, for they wished to carry out steps of conventional disarmament before stopping production of atomic weapons. The intent may have been to leave room for negotiation. The Soviets merely reiterated their former contentions.) Along with the requirements mentioned, in planning the different stages it would be best to stop atomic production in the very first stage, with inspectors posted outside declared plants to check power input even before they were allowed to enter plants or to search the country to be sure all plants had been declared.

This recital merely begins to open a vista showing how intricate a matter it is to write an adequate arms-limitation or disarmament proposal.

It seems likely that if the arms race can be stopped at all, it will be by an agreement on some imperfect degree of arms limitation, a vigilant truce in the arms contest, so to speak, rather than a plan for complete and universal disarmament. More would be preferable, but this would be better than continuing the unlimited arms race. It would end the dizzy spiral and the continual temptation to be the first to strike. It would keep the number of atomic powers from growing indefinitely. It would prevent the technical difficulties of control from getting continually worse and thus preserve the possibility of a more far-reaching agreement.

THERE remains for consideration one much less ambitious arms-limitation proposal that would be fair and advantageous to both sides because it would gradually reduce the dangerous preponderance of offense over defense. This is the proposal to ban further *testing* of H-bombs by agreement among the powers, and to set up an international monitoring agency. Access to the territories of the countries principally concerned would not be necessary in view of the far-reaching meteorological effect of H-bomb tests. The test ban was suggested by India, without mention of monitoring arrangements, in the hope that it might serve as a "standstill agreement" pending further disarmament,

Greatest Debate in History . . . by C. F. Powell

London

At the present time neither of the two greatest powers appears to have an appreciable technical advantage over the other, either in [atomic] weapons or in the power of delivering them. But such considerations without a settlement can do nothing to prevent an arms race of overwhelming magnitude; they may indeed tend to promote it.

In this situation there is no escape from the present dilemma apart from the international control of atomic energy. In approaching this subject we are contributing to a great debate, the greatest in history, of which the outcome must be either an accommodation between the great powers or their mutual destruction. It is our duty repeatedly to emphasize that international control is technically feasible, that all nations are agreed on its necessity, that both the United States and the U. S. S. R. have accepted the principle of permanent inspection and of a system of control not subject to veto whereby suspected violations may be investigated—in short, that no fundamental issue now stands in the way of reaching an agreement.

We believe that Britain, with its special interest in the matter, should take the initiative in bringing together leading American, Soviet, and British statesmen to secure the elimination of these weapons of mass destruction as part of a general settlement and the establishment of an effective system of international control and inspection. Without such international control the whole world will continue to live in the shadow of a frightful catastrophe.

[*C. F. Powell, a Fellow of the Royal Society of London, won the Nobel prize for physics in 1950.*]

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but it would make an important contribution to world stability even if no further agreement should follow. It would seriously hamper the development of more easily delivered weapons of offensive power while permitting the development of defensive power to go on unchecked. And it would do this equally for both sides. If the statesmen of the world are too discouraged to initiate a serious search for an agreement on even partial disarmament, they should at least pay some attention to this positive possibility of slowing down the approaching doom.

LABOR AND McCARTHY

A Showdown Must Come . . *by Bernard Nossiter*

ALMOST every trade-union leader has announced from some rostrum his abhorrence of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy and his works. Since McCarthy's tangle with the army, labor's impeachments have stepped up in tempo and volume. But only a handful of the major unions have dealt directly with the threat McCarthy and McCarthyism pose to organized labor itself. On the other hand, the unions expelled from the C. I. O. for Communist domination, being more directly in the line of fire, have been sounding the alarm for some time and of necessity have adopted vigorous counter-techniques.

At most union conventions resolutions deploring McCarthy's methods are nearly as routine as the invocations. Richard Gray, head of the A. F. of L. building-trades department, stands in lone Republican splendor to acclaim Joe's "impressive" job. But many of the anti-McCarthy statements have a feeble ring. They either take a lofty moral tone or picture McCarthy as impeding the holy war against communism. An example of the first type is the C. I. O. resolution adopted at last November's convention which urged Congress to guard against espionage and sabotage "without subjecting individuals to persecution on the basis of speech, advocacy, or belief alone." It also demanded "a code of fair practices" to compel investigating committees "to respect individual rights." President Walter Reuther summed up this position last February when he called McCarthyism "evil, immoral, and un-American." David Dubinsky's Ladies Garment Workers voiced the second type of protest at their May convention, declaring that McCarthyism was "a serious threat to American democracy, the national welfare, and the effective struggle against communism."

For a long time union newspapers, speeches, and resolutions were almost barren of any hint that McCarthyism was a danger not simply to civil rights but to the bread and butter of workingmen. Now a few organizations are beginning to see this point. A recent issue of the *United Mine Workers' Journal* says "the bandicoot from Wisconsin" has set up a sideshow to divert attention from the "Big Show." The Big Show is "the one that features our economic problems and taxes and unemployment." The A. F. of L.'s weekly *News-Reporter* charges that McCarthy has laid down "a smoke screen of treason" to hide the real issue and calls "the record of the McCarthyites in the G. O. P. barren of accomplishment for the good of the masses of the American people."

More striking is the failure to recognize that McCarthy is the instrument of a drive to destroy unions. He and his tribe create a climate in which union wrecking is sanctioned by fear of Reds. The Eisenhower Administration gave away the game with Attorney General Herbert Brownell's proposals to legalize the firing of "potentially subversive" workers and permit the government to disband any organization it considers Communist-infected. It was no coincidence that the author of the leading bill to outlaw unions on a complaint of Communist taint was Senator John Butler, a McCarthy creation. All unions, of course, oppose these proposals and they were turned down last week by the Senate Judiciary Committee, but few unions are directly linking McCarthyism with union-busting. One exception is the huge International Association of Machinists, which in its March *Monthly Journal* reported: "Senator Baldhatch states that the Communists are taking the country over. We must have more restrictive laws for the unions."

("At this stage, McCarthy would not be identified in the rank-and-file mind with an anti-labor position," a shrewd C. I. O. official said. "So far, he's ignored us. Those Albany hearings on U. E. workers were a sideshow.")

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Power of the Vote

Cloaked in Senatorial immunity and wielding the vast power of a Senate investigating committee, McCarthy has, with lies, distortion, slander, and blackmail, cynically tried to make Americans suspicious of their leaders, their institutions, their fundamental freedoms, and their friends and neighbors. . . .

Dwight D. Eisenhower's failure to act is in a large measure responsible for the fact that McCarthy today occupies a position of power from which he can challenge the President of the United States. . . .

We herewith reaffirm our determination to drive out of public life, with an avalanche of votes, all who would betray freedom and liberty.—*From a civil-liberties resolution approved at the 1954 national convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.*

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Even after adopting anti-McCarthy resolutions, few unions have followed through with action. Labor might at least have stiffened the spines of Democrats afraid to tangle with McCarthy. Congressmen listen to voters even from unions beyond the pale. In February a U. E. delegation got pledges for votes against the Butler bill from some of the 150 legislators they buttonholed in Washington, but when Harry Bridges's longshoremen staged a strike to protest against the San Francisco run of the Velde committee last December, labor as a whole looked the other way.

Unions have occasionally given support to victims of the heresy hunt. The United Automobile Workers helped Lieutenant Radulovich keep his commission. The C. I. O. Oil Workers have furnished money, publicity, and platforms to Harvey O'Connor, their historian, who was indicted after standing on the First Amendment before McCarthy. Cases like these enlist the aid of unionists.

Perhaps labor's greatest mistake has been its failure to launch a broad educational program aimed at arousing the membership to McCarthyism as an economic threat. A notable exception was the U. A. W.'s recent education conference, which provided a forum for a Catholic bishop to attack McCarthy's phony anti-communism. The C. I. O.'s Political Action Committee distributes thousands of newspaper and magazine reprints, but these deal mostly with McCarthy's shady past, his oil friends, and his attacks on government employees. The A. F. of L.'s Labor's League for Political Education sends out monthly releases to member internationals, but only the February, 1954, report comes close to the central issue. It warns: "If the opposition can get us looking for alleged Communists under every bed, they know we won't vote for those who will give us fair labor laws and a strong, booming economy." Some unions have overlooked McCarthy's existence entirely. From January, 1953, through March, 1954, *Steel Labor,* the United Steelworkers' monthly, made only one indirect reference to him. Three lines of President David J. McDonald's Labor Day message noted that "non-Communist enemies of freedom" are destroying the groups best fighting communism.

The left unions have naturally taken a different tack. A steady stream of pamphlets and leaflets on McCarthyism has poured out of U. E., for example. All of them make clear the worker's stake in the struggle. Such programs are in marked contrast to the timidity of the Wisconsin state C. I. O. and A. F. of L., which recently declined on legalistic grounds to support petitions for McCarthy's recall.

("To some extent, our leadership has grown apathetic," the C. I. O. official said. "But in any case we don't want to get too far ahead of the rank and file. That inevitably breeds disaster. Remember, the Communists took us so far down the road indorsing resolutions of all kinds that there is a tendency by both leaders and the rank and file to suspect anything that lies outside the immediate economic province.")

The longer labor delays a full-scale war with McCarthyism or Brownellism, its respectable twin, the stronger that movement gets, and the more difficult it becomes to enlist rank-and-file support. As late as January a Gallup poll showed that 58 per cent of union members approved of Eisenhower's Presidential performance against 33 per cent disapproving. Union wives were even more enthusiastic, dividing 68 per cent to 23 per cent. Another January Gallup poll recorded 50 per cent of manual workers "favorable" to McCarthy, the same percentage that obtained for the whole sample, against 23 per cent "unfavorable." Although today these figures have been altered by the increasing anti-McCarthy barrage, they give an index to the unions' weakness. A major factor inhibiting the unions is their own bitter quarrel with the Communists. Today the C. I. O. is throwing men and money into "holy-war" raids on the expelled unions. The Steelworkers, for example, referred to a hoped-for victory over Mine Mill as a vote "to return to the American labor movement."

This approach at best breeds the kind of confusion that marked the testimony of Joseph A. Beirne, president of the Communication Workers of America (C. I. O.), before a Senate subcommittee. He opposed the Butler bill but wondered why Congress did not move "directly against the Communists" in trade unions. At worst, it leads to union officials doing McCarthy's dirty work. Hulbert Warner, Negro vice-president of

Drawing by W. E. Preston

"You take the high road."

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the National Maritime Union, told his National Council in February that Hoyt Haddock, executive secretary of the C. I. O.'s Maritime Committee, had been sent to him by the F. B. I., army, navy, and Coast Guard intelligence to find out whether Warner was leading a movement of Negroes and Puerto Ricans to seize the N. M. U.

Reviewing their own failure to aid local union officials attacked by investigating committees, the C. I. O. Packinghouse Workers said, "We in the labor movement who have no sympathy for the principles of communism have allowed the dictatorship of fear to browbeat us out of defending Americanism. . . . We who have yielded to these pressures of fear must share with McCarthyism the onus of attempting to destroy true Americanism."

From time to time the unions' anti-Communist barrage lets up long enough to permit some perspective. The preamble to C. I. O.'s 1953 resolution said flatly, "The Communist movement in this country poses no threat to subvert the government." Calling it a recruiting ground for spies and saboteurs, the C. I. O. declared, "It is what these people do, not what they say or think, that matters." The Senator's war with the army has produced a flood of hostile articles in the labor press. One widely reprinted cartoon from the Garment Workers' *Justice* compares McCarthy and Eisenhower to Hitler and Hindenburg. But, significantly, the accompanying editorial fails to record that Hitler early destroyed trade unions.

("McCarthy is doing a good job of alerting the rank and file," said the C. I. O. official. "Right now his threat to our economic welfare isn't obvious enough.")

If the trade unions wait until McCarthy moves openly against them, they will probably wait too long. McCarthy has carefully avoided attacking the unions so far; his record shows he will leave this task to his fellows. With the single exception of his spirited stand against public housing seven years ago, McCarthy has scrupulously adhered to synthetic issues; trade unions pose real issues. McCarthy moves in a fantastic world. If he succeeds in imposing his vision on this country, the unions will find themselves beaten before they begin to fight.

Asks Impeachment

THEREFORE, be it resolved, that the Minneapolis Central Labor Union . . . call upon the United States Senate to take an action to reconsider the action of allowing $214,000 tax money to be squandered by this bull in a political china shop from Wisconsin. . . . AND be it further resolved, that our Labor's League for Political Education sit down with Senator Humphrey to devise ways and means of starting impeachment proceedings against the Wisconsin Senator.—*From a resolution submitted to the Executive Board of Labor's League For Political Action (A. F. of L.).*

460% ON YOUR MONEY

New U. S. Imperialism . . *by Basil Davidson*

London

"IN twenty-five years," we read lately in *Business Week,* "America will take the Western Hemisphere, the Middle East, Africa, and Australia as its prime market. . . . One [American] college graduate in four will find his job in Rio de Janeiro, Dakar, Beirut." A shining prospect and one which argues, reassuringly for these "650,000,000 foreign customers," that the bombs we have all been fearing may not, after all, be dropped. This picture of a world —or even a hemisphere—united peacefully in trade is an acceptable one to Europeans, who are now trying to retie peaceful relations with the Soviet Union and China by means of trade. From a business man's standpoint, if the United States would "leave the East" to Europe, Europe might perhaps be able to "leave the West" to the United States. But is the prospect likely to materialize? Do the colonial peoples to be included in this new American market desire it?

Every advance in economic organization tends to be a liberating force. Engels pointed that out long ago, when he showed in relation to British industrialism that the infinitely greater efficiency of the late nineteenth century had overcome many of the appalling abuses of the earlier part of the century. Unlike their grandfathers and their fathers, the manufacturers of 1890 employed no children, exacted only ten hours' work a day, admitted the existence of trade unions, and saw less than bloody revolution in a strike. American capitalism also, in demanding more efficient labor, assures better treatment for labor.

American overseas investment can have a similar effect. Far down on the west coast of Africa is the Portuguese colony of Angola, which is worked mainly by forced labor—slave labor in all but name. According to official estimates shown me by the government in Luanda, the capital, at least one-third of all "fit adult males" in Angola work as periodical slaves. Itself pre-industrial in habit, Portugal has allowed this colony to slumber in bitter poverty for all the hundreds of years of its ownership. Angola's economy is dominated today, for example, by a single bank which enjoys a monopoly of all banking transactions but pays no interest on deposits, makes no loans in the ordinary way of business, and charges high fees

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for almost any financial service it may render.

American investors, both public and private, have lately become interested in Angola. When I was there recently I was told that this American interest might shortly break the monopoly of the Bank of Angola and allow business to obtain the banking services it needs if it is to expand. Increased investment could stimulate the growth of manufacturing or processing industries which would require not slaves but semi-skilled workers. In Angola, beyond a doubt, the growth of capitalism would be exceedingly good for millions of Africans.

THE trouble is that more investment in colonial areas along existing lines will not bring the enormous expansion in purchasing power presupposed by *Business Week's* forecast. The United Nations "Experts' Report" of 1950 showed that the average rate of return on American foreign investments in 1948 was 17 per cent, compared with about 14 per cent on domestic investments. The people who have to pay this higher rate of interest are those whom *Business Week* foresees as increasingly promising customers.

Underdeveloped countries might feel they should suffer this fleecing if it led to the development of their own industry. But does it? Nearly all American overseas investment in the past twenty years has gone into the production of oil, minerals, and other primary products not consumed in the countries of origin. Colonies and underdeveloped countries which were originally conquered and "protected" by one of the European powers have lately found themselves paying tribute to a new master who seems to be no less exacting than the old. He may often appear more tolerant and humane, but that is because he can usually rely on the old masters to wield the big stick for him and maintain the "law and order" that are indispensable to "safe" overseas investment.

The actual rate of profit from colonial investments has probably never been greater than in these years since the end of the war—the years in which American capital has become important in the colonies of European powers. The Stock Exchange lists provide evidence of this. South of Angola is another African territory that is poorer still, the former German colony of Southwest Africa, which the Union of South Africa has lately annexed. Here there is copper. The O'Okiep Copper Company, registered at 14 Wall Street, New York, has raised its dividend rate on an issued capital of about $1,500,000 from a paltry 10 per cent in 1946 to 290 per cent in 1951 and 460 per cent in 1952. A much bigger copper company in Northern Rhodesia, the Rhodesian Selection Trust, whose vice-chairman is Chester Beatty, paid 50 per cent in 1949 on an issued capital of $15,000,000, 50 per cent in 1950, 55 per cent in 1951 plus a share bonus of 100 per cent (thanks to the Korean war!), and 40 per cent in 1952.

But *Business Week* is not satisfied. "All the encouragement for investments abroad can't be left to the United States," it warns us. "The underdeveloped countries must help themselves to attract American capital—first, by providing a stable economic and political climate and, second, by plowing their own capital back into productive use, not into extravagances."

Extravagances? What extravagances would that tragically underdeveloped area of Southwest Africa like to have? A few schools, a hospital or so, a string of clinics. In Northern Rhodesia, out of which the Selection Trust is taking so much money (after paying small local taxes), not a single African doctor is practicing. Only 1,179 native children are in secondary schools out of an African population of nearly two million. The terrible poverty of the African people is mocked by the astronomical dividends which foreign investors—European first, and now American as well—are extracting from the country through their labor.

Such dividends depend upon the continuance of colonial conditions. Since they require what *Business Week* calls "a stable economic and political climate," they erect a barrier against change. And when a backward country summons up its courage and expropriates the big foreign investor, Uncle Sam forgets his role of benefactor and moves heaven and earth to reestablish the status quo.

No petty sums voted to an idealistic "Point Four" can mean anything in the face of this. Like the E. C. A. before it, the Mutual Security Agency has invested money in Angola, and may soon invest more. But to what end? It has built a whacking great airstrip, six thousand feet long, at the lost little inland town of Villa Luso, opened a new trunk road into Northern Rhodesia, improved the permanent right of way of the Benguela Railway, which carries out the copper from the Belgian Congo. Shortly it may help to improve the port of Lobito, which now employs six hundred forced workers and will then employ more. This type of investment is futile in terms of contemporary industrial development.

THERE is also a larger point. Out of the Second World War the great European colonial empires emerged with failing strength. Their grip was weakened. Here and there it was thrown off. Everywhere it was sharply questioned by colonial peoples. This situation was exploited by the United States to increase its own influence—an influence exerted not to end colonialism but to prolong it in a new form. Just when all Africa was entering on a hopeful period of nationalism, when liberation from past subjection seemed near, there appeared on the scene a new imperialism, eager, energetic, immensely powerful. And this new imperialism said: You must provide the same conditions that the old empires enjoyed; you must pay us our dividends and not think of "extravagances."

The very country which has stood for the freedom of colonial peoples, which has belabored the greed and cruelty of European investors, turns out to be no different from the rest. If in Morocco, Persia, or elsewhere the United States undermines the old empires, it is only, it seems, to substitute its own. The new imperialism may often be less stupid than the old, but it is evidently no less grasping, no less ready to use force if fair words will not avail. It is still a monstrous barrier to the freedom of opportunity which these peoples, if they are ever to stand equal with the rest of the world and realize their own capacities, must have and are determined to have. Too long these peoples have been Europe's "customers": are they now to be content to serve as America's? Wherever their leaders have been able to speak out, they have answered no.

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BOOKS

He Was Right All Along

MY MISSION TO SPAIN. Watching the Rehearsal of World War II. By Claude G. Bowers. Simon and Schuster. $6.

By Thomas J. Hamilton

SO MUCH has happened since 1939 that the Spanish civil war seems almost as remote as our own war with Spain forty years before. The gallant struggle of the Spanish Republic against fascism has been almost forgotten, and Franco is now an American ally. The Pentagon is having considerable trouble building its Spanish bases and has as yet no agreement entitling it to use them in the event of war, but that does not seem to disturb the makers of American policy. Anyhow, the American alliance has provided Franco not only with a cloak of respectability but with badly wanted dollars, and the question is no longer how to get Franco out but what kind of government Spain will have after Franco dies.

It is to be feared that Franco's very adroitness in balancing off the rival conservative forces in Spain, without even attempting to set up a coherent government, foreshadows serious disturbances after his death, perhaps another civil war. History, therefore, may repeat itself: once again the Spanish conservatives may accuse their foes—liberals, anarchists, or what not—of being Communists. This smear campaign had a considerable success from the outbreak of the civil war in 1936 to Franco's victory three years later. In the present atmosphere, when the Soviet Union, not Nazi Germany, is the foe of everything that the United States stands for, the American public may misjudge the Spanish situation even more completely unless it is reminded of the real issues.

Mr. Bowers, who was our ambassador to Spain from 1933 to 1939, prefaces his account of his mission with the statement: "I prefer to think that we shall not return to the shoddy days just before the [Second World] war, when it was popular in high circles to believe that to oppose communism one must follow the fascist line." As he says, "the two segments of totalitarianism are equally bent on the extermination of democracy and the freedoms."

Mr. Bowers has delayed publication of these memoirs until now because he felt that if they were published during the great war his "caustic treatment" of Neville Chamberlain might be interpreted as an attack on the English people. Also, he served as ambassador to Chile until the advent of the Eisenhower Administration, and he did not think he should publish them until after he had left government service.

The outbreak of the Franco rebellion found Mr. Bowers at the summer embassy at San Sebastian. On the insistence of the State Department he then set up his headquarters across the French border at St. Jean de Luz. He participated in the evacuation of Americans from the Basque country and Galicia in the early weeks of the war but after that did not observe it at first hand. On the French side of the frontier he was in contact with the colony of British, American, and French sympathizers with Franco, in both public and private life, who so aroused his indignation.

However, this in no way diminishes the value of his narrative. Like the good newspaperman he is, Mr. Bowers made it his job before the war to acquaint himself with the leading figures of Spanish political and intellectual life, and from these diverse sources he learned to understand the basic issues in Spain. He was in an excellent position, moreover, to study at close range the operations of that sinister farce the London Non-Intervention Committee, which managed to conceal until it was too late the presence of an Italian expeditionary force and a Nazi air squadron and other phases of Axis intervention.

Those who know Mr. Bowers do not expect him to remain in an ivory tower, and his contempt for Chamberlain, in particular, stands out. He is a partisan of the Spanish Republic, and he explains the atrocities committed on the Republican side in the early days of the war with the statement that the "anarchistic fringe" were primarily responsible. On the other hand, as he points out, the atrocities on the Franco side were committed in cold blood; he gives the names and the dates of their death of fifteen Basque priests executed by the Nationalists.

Mr. Bowers has kind words for practically all the Republican leaders, including the two outstanding Socialists, Indalecio Prieto and Juan Negrín, despite their fundamental differences on how to fight the war and when to end it. He says that he will leave it to history to judge between Prieto and Negrín, but I wish that he had done it himself; no other American is so well qualified.

I for one would have liked to find in Mr. Bowers's book a realistic chapter on the internal weaknesses of the Spanish Republic, such weaknesses as were revealed so clearly in Arturo Barea's account of the sabotage of the Republican war effort by the Communists. For the Republic, despite Axis intervention and the blindness of Chamberlain, still had a majority of Spaniards supporting it. Was not its defeat, like that of the Confederacy, as much the result of its own mistakes as of the superior strength of its enemies? Mr. Bowers's answer would be most valuable not only for past history but for the guidance of Americans in surveying the next chapter in Spain's history.

It is particularly useful to have Mr. Bowers's impressions of American policy during the Spanish war, and to read his first-hand account of Roosevelt's acknowledgment: "We have made a mistake; you have been right all along." But this was after the war had been lost and Mr. Bowers had been called back to Washington in anticipation of our recognition of Franco. Roosevelt's blindness to the issues in Spain until it was too late is indeed the most puzzling aspect of his entire foreign policy. For Spain, as the Spanish fascists themselves said later, was the first campaign in the Second World War. It is not too fanciful to think that if the

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THOMAS J. HAMILTON is the author of "Appeasement's Child: The Franco Regime in Spain."

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Western powers had put down Axis aggression there, the greater war might have been avoided.

Space does not permit lengthy mention of Mr. Bowers's account of his life in Spain before Franco raised the standard of rebellion. The Ambassador knew everybody and went everywhere, and his account of the progress being made to create a decent and modern state is grim reading when one thinks of the totalitarian stamp that has been pressed on one of the most attractive peoples in the world.

Kafka's Romance-by-Correspondence

LETTERS TO MILENA. By Franz Kafka. Translated from the German by Tania and James Stern. Schocken Books. Distributed by Noonday Press. $3.75.

THE CASTLE. By Franz Kafka. Translated from the German by Willa and Edwin Muir, with Additional Materials Translated by Eithne Wilkins and Ernst Kaiser. Alfred A. Knopf. $4.50.

By Henry Popkin

WE ARE fortunate in the simultaneous publication of Kafka's "Letters to Milena" and the definitive text of "The Castle" (longer by a third than the previous edition). A year ago Max Brod's preface to Gustav Janouch's "Conversations with Kafka" pointed to a link between these two volumes. Brod, having interpreted "The Castle" first as a religious allegory (in his Epilogue to the original edition) and then as a parable of the Jew's plight in the modern world (in his biography of Kafka), has now added a third reading suggesting that "The Castle" provides a distorted account of Kafka's love affair with Milena, a literary lady with whom the novelist conducted an ardent correspondence for two years. The first interpretation has been frequently under attack—most recently and perhaps most reasonably in Erich Heller's "The Disinherited Mind"—the second is self-evident, and the third has not yet been subjected to close scrutiny. What is disturbing about these different readings is Brod's failure to unfold any relationship among them, in particular, to tell us how the same forces can symbolize both the "godhead" and anti-Semitism. Still, whether or not we accept Brod's account of the connection between the novel and the letters, it is clear that they were written at the same time and that the letters document the somber mood of "The Castle." (The added sections continue the previously established pattern of the novel; they make K's attitude toward Frieda more calculating and some minor characters more intelligible.)

In his letters Kafka goes out to seek the indignities and embarrassments that are forced upon K in "The Castle." He abandons his self-respect in a manner peculiar to a romance-by-correspondence. Milena was a safe distance away, across the Austrian frontier. She was married, she was Gentile; Kafka himself was engaged. This was a fortunate situation for a man who feared marriage and who broke three engagements. He freely indulged all of his latent capacity for affection. He humbled himself before her, staked his life upon each letter, proclaimed that her existence alone saved him and that only her letters got him through the day.

Whatever Milena's remarkable qualities may have been, Kafka's conception of her became finally a work of the imagination. Sporadically regaining contact with reality, Kafka made "the great admission: Milena too is a human being." Of course such a love could thrive best on separation; at times Kafka seems almost afraid to see Milena, insisting that he will not lie to get off from work and visit her and that he would find even a telephone call too exciting. At last, apparently replying to a practical suggestion made by Milena, he told her three times: "We shall never live together, in the same apartment, body to body, at the same table, never, not even in the same town."

Most of the correspondence displays a steady intensity of feeling. Kafka is to Milena, who is thirteen years younger than he, as a child to its mother; he is as unwelcome as a mouse, as humble as a grocer. He burrows a tunnel to her out of his dark hole. He invents parables or narrates dreams all of which have just one point—the painfulness and inevitability of their separation. In a dream he kills a relative for insulting Milena and threatens to kill his father. In a parable he expresses his regret at her appearance in a magazine by picturing himself outside a coffee-house while she is within consorting with everyone else. In another dream she promises but never grants an audience of twenty minutes; in another he detects a "rejecting attitude" in her face.

Kafka interprets always and everywhere the fear that dominates him. His fear is his "best part," he is married to it, he loves it: "If it ceases I also cease, it's my way of participating in life." He believes that his is a Jewish fearfulness; he tells himself, "After all, you're a Jew, and know what fear is." His references to the Jews are generally apologetic and sometimes almost hostile, but his castigation of the Jews is simply a part of his castigation of himself. His painful raptures left Kafka little room for perception of his masochism, but he was once in a while capable of such an insight as this: "Nor is it perhaps really love when I say that for me you are the most beloved; love is to me that you are the knife which I turn within myself."

HENRY POPKIN, instructor in English at Brandeis University, contributes frequently to the Kenyon Review, *the* Sewanee Review, *and* Commentary.

Temperament vs. Conscience

A SPY IN THE HOUSE OF LOVE. By Anaïs Nin. British Book Center. $3.

By Maxwell Geismar

ANAIS NIN is as well known to literary circles here and abroad as she has been little known to the general reading public. Her unpublished diary is something of a legend, and the present book is the best of her series of novels published in this country. The craft moves directly toward the area of psychological realism; the prose is a pleasure to read. This is, in short, a sensitive and discerning fable of a woman's love life, which manages to compress within a very brief compass

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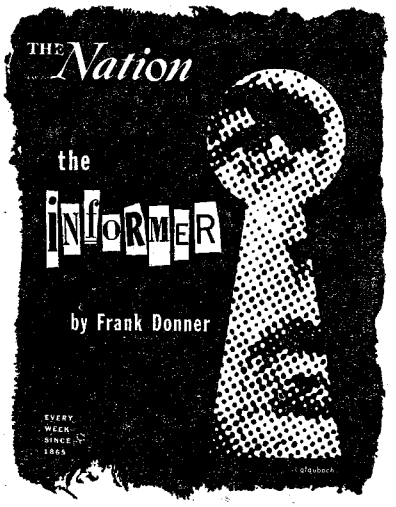

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some of the rewards and almost too many of the anguishes of passion for its own sake.

It is almost a terrifying book—saved by the humor with which Miss Nin endows her theme, which raises it finally to the level of an artistic tragi-comedy. The story concerns the amorous exploits of the heroine, Sabina, a veteran of these battles, pursued by her own guilt and fear, caught between her temperament and her conscience. In the symbolism of the narrative she is pursued by the "lie-detector," a sort of F. B. I. of the heart. (This figure is an amusing mixture of psychoanalytic techniques and conventional morality.) The heroine evades him, and we begin to realize that Miss Nin is one of the few women writers in our literary tradition to affirm the centrality of the biological impulses for her own sex, and on the same terms as for men.

The point is also that she is prepared to describe these emotions from the feminine point of view with the same ruthless honesty that marked a D. H. Lawrence or a Dreiser. And what a price is paid by the protagonist—or the victim—of the present story for her moments of ecstasy and conquest! She must move on a superficial level of lies, tricks, evasions in each new case of love; the tactics of feminine deceit are all exposed here in a manual of love's subterfuges. On a deeper level of genuine affection she must still prepare to wound before she is wounded, to betray so that she may not be betrayed, to make her escape before the lover makes his. The price of impulse is eternal anxiety, Miss Nin implies. This spy, like all spies, must be prepared for treason, for flight, for ignoble death.

This theme is dramatized in a series of separate episodes with rather shadowy masculine figures who operate mainly to project the various roles a woman also plays in love—or is forced to play. In the end Miss Nin's heroine turns for comfort and wisdom to another woman, Djuna, who has figured in the previous novels in the series. Friendship is the solace for passion perhaps, as art is the crystallization of imperfect human desire.

MAXWELL GEISMAR, well-known literary critic, is a contributing editor of The Nation.

New Books in Brief

Something Like a Poem

GOETHE'S FAUST. An Abridged Version. Translated by Louis MacNeice. Oxford. $1.75.

Louis MacNeice's version of Faust was commissioned by the British Broadcasting Corporation and was originally produced as a series of six programs. To fit the demands of radio, MacNeice eliminated four thousand of the twelve thousand lines of the original, some of them in large chunks. Some quarrel with these cuts seems inevitable on the part of teachers and experts, but MacNeice has certainly achieved a fast-paced and readable introduction. This is not the last word in Faust translation, but MacNeice seems to have found the most convincing word to date. His version sounds authentic and English. Here, for example, is a standard passage rendered into Translatorese (Scene I, Faust has just opened the Book of Nostradamus):

Up, up. Away to the champaign free!
And this mysterious volume writ
By Nostradamus' self, is it
Not guide and counsel enough for thee?
Then wilt thou learn by what control
The stars within their orbits roll,
And if thou wilt let boon Nature be
The guide and monitress to thee,
Thy soul shall expand with tenfold force,
As spirit with spirit holds discourse.

Here is MacNeice's version:

Away! There is a world outside!
And this one book of mystic art
Which Nostradamus wrote himself,
Is this not adequate guard and guide?
By this you can tell the course of the stars,
By this, once Nature gives the word,
The soul begins to stir and dawn,
A spirit by a spirit heard.

One may quarrel with a detail here and there, but MacNeice has managed something like a poem, and he has managed it in English that is always adequate, sometimes brilliant, and intelligently faithful throughout. One still hopes that someone will undertake the whole thing with enough notes to revive a more minute sense of the original, but until that happens MacNeice's version remains the best in sight.

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The Meaning of Civilization

PAUL VALERY AND THE CIVILIZED MIND. By Norman Suckling. Oxford. $4.

Between wars the name of Paul Valéry came to be accorded an almost magical significance when used to evoke the idea of perfect taste, ultimate subtlety of intellect, and sublime detachment from all human illusions. The author of this study accepts him as the perfected type of what he calls "the civilized mind" and attempts to systematize his thought in a 275-page essay on the meaning of civilization as Valéry and his interpreter understand it. A first chapter on The Biological Irrelevance of Spiritual Values states the fundamental premise, and the rest of the study logically draws the conclusions: man and nature are antithetical; man is not explicable in terms of "the life force" but only as a creature who has been able to reject it; he achieves fully human status only when he has escaped from too great a love of life and can therefore concern himself chiefly with those spiritual values of which biological vitality is the enemy. In its somewhat different way this philosophy is obviously as radically unworldly as the most extreme form of Christian aestheticism, and it has its value as a protest against that surrender to the so-called "laws of nature" which the over-simple nineteenth-century evolutionism encouraged. But that "nature" and "man"—even civilized man—are as antithetical as the argument suggests or that survival and civilization are as nearly incompatible as they are made to seem is not really self-evident. Mr. Suckling, a lecturer in French at the University of Durham, writes with admirable force and clarity if also with something like well-bred fanaticism.

Men in Battle

AN ACT OF LOVE. A Completely Retold Version of the Novel. By Ira Wolfert. Simon and Schuster. $4.

Mr. Wolfert is a serious and gifted novelist who has had a Dreiserian tendency to become ponderous both in the structure of his narratives and in the writing. His second look at his second novel has cut through most of the excessive amount of detail in the original version. More important, he has clothed his early sermons with the flesh and blood of human behavior. The result is a superb narrative of the war in the Pacific near the Solomon Islands—perhaps the best book yet to come out of World War II. The hero is a navy flier; after the sinking of the cruiser Minot the action moves into a tropical island with both primitive and decadent levels of society; on the return trip to Japan the army takes over the central place in the story. Mr. Wolfert covers the whole range of the three military services which operate together here. He includes a remarkable gallery of men in war; he has something of the same obsession with the events of the battlefield, the horror, the irony, and the comedy, which marks the work of Stephen Crane. But to this he has added a vein of moral, social, and philosophical speculation that is less familiar in our literature and that raises this beautiful story to the level of primary literature.

Success Story

THE CONQUEST OF DON PEDRO. By Harvey Fergusson. Morrow. $3.50.

To the small settlement of Don Pedro in New Mexico came Leo Mendes, the Jewish peddler, in the late sixties. Leo wishes to open a store, though he knows such a venture will meet the opposition of the aristocratic *ricos* who keep the peons in subjection through debt. But Leo, who hates violence and strife, is a persistent man; little by little he adds to his wealth until the *ricos* themselves are his debtors, the priest is his close friend, and he is established as the dominant power in Don Pedro.

All of this is material for a serious novel. It would be wrong to say that Mr. Fergusson has treated it frivolously, or even with excessive romanticism, but the too popular touch is ever present. Leo's three successive women are all tremendously erotic and eager; the crudities of the frontier are softened; the pieces fall

FRIENDLY CHALLENGE TO THE CHURCHES

(Beyond selling space for publication of the accompanying material, *The Nation* is not to be held responsible for statements contained in the material)

In a time of renascent orthodoxy, rampant fundamentalism, and reactionary evangelism, our progressive theological seminaries are performing a cultural service not yet clearly understood by the churches or by the general public. These forward-looking divinity schools are in the tradition of scientific Biblical scholarship, stressing, among other highly important points, (1) a new, evolutionary view of Hebrew history, in which the great Hebrew prophets emphasize God as demanding not only personal righteousness but social justice; (2) the struggle against Baalism as the symbol of unjust, heathen social institutions ("The name Baal became the very signature of heathenism".—G. F. Moore, of Harvard Divinity, in Commentary on Judges, 195); (3) the final triumph of One God over "other gods" the first great victory on behalf of social justice in the history of the world.

Indispensable to normal, healthy church growth is a more satisfactory relationship with youth. But young people are not getting from the churches accurate instruction in Hebrew history, including the development of belief in God as requiring social justice. Thus, church teaching seems to go contrary to the general trend of what is learned in high school and college.

To meet this condition, two kinds of action are necessary, both of which will be difficult: (1) There should be classes for adults and the more mature young people, based upon Biblical interpretation prevailing in the seminaries that furnish pastors for so many denominational pulpits. (2) The cultural service rendered by our liberal divinity schools should be publicly acknowledged by means of conservatively-worded resolutions. No church today can go on into future spiritual victory while attempting to live on the non-social, individualistic half of the gospel. The churches in connection with progressive seminaries must be the first to align themselves publicly with the social phase of the Bible (which has nothing to do with socialism or communism). A bulletin dealing with the situation will be sent to you upon receipt of a three-cent stamp to cover postage.—L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, N. Y. (One free copy only.)

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too neatly and too constantly into place.

Nor are Leo's final defeat and abdication artistically inevitable. One wants to jog Leo's, or Leo's wife's, or Mr. Fergusson's elbow and say, "You don't have to act this way, you know. You're carrying on like people in a novel!"

Industrial Miracle

FORD: THE TIMES, THE MAN, THE COMPANY. By Allan Nevins with the Collaboration of Frank Ernest Hill. Scribner's. $6.75.

This massive tome is the product of an arrangement between the Ford Motor Company, which opened its archives to the authors, and Columbia University, which appointed an advisory committee of distinguished scholars to oversee the work and provided a staff of researchers. Considering these auspices and the intrinsic fascination of the subject, this account of Henry Ford and his flivver might well have been a broth of a book. But apparently there were too many cooks working in too much haste, and we are served a lumpy, tasteless stew. Dr. Nevins, who has written many distinguished historical works, takes full responsibility for "all the faults and shortcomings," but it is hard to believe that much of the actual writing is his. And nobody seems to have bothered about pruning and polishing the book.

It must be said, however, that it has been written with a much greater degree of objectivity than is usual in business histories, and for this both the Ford Company and the authors must be commended. Due attention is paid to Henry Ford's many shortcomings as well as to his great achievements, and there is no glossing over the fact that his industrial miracle was also "an industrial despotism." Moreover, the work dispels the myth of the one-man show by giving credit to Ford's colleagues and particularly to James Couzens, whose administrative talents were the essential complement of Ford's mechanical and productive genius.

The book concludes with the breaking of that partnership in 1915. A sequel, dealing with the long years of Henry Ford's absolute control, with his struggle against unionization, his political eccentricities, and his relations with his son, Edsel, is obviously required.

Promising Younger Poet

AN ARMADA OF THIRTY WHALES. By Daniel G. Hoffman. Yale. $2.50.

Daniel G. Hoffman's first book is Number 51 in the Yale Series of Younger Poets, a long list of first books which have been followed, with a very few bright exceptions, by no books at all. Like the Pulitzer Prize, the Yale Series selection has more often gone to the fusty than to the vital. Perhaps it was with this in mind that Yale selected Auden as the new arbiter of the series; under him certainly the list has begun to seem considerably more promising.

Hoffman's poetry is uneven. Too many attitudes afloat in the general air of the passing style seem to have tangled into the poems without real organic relation to them. And the flow of their cadences, deliberately off-beat in most poems, is often more a puzzle than a rhythm. The breaking off of lines simply for rhyme purposes—"their amber/ eyes"—is a device the poet might well reexamine.

Nevertheless, Hoffman has energy, passion, and a way with words. These gifts lead him to enough successes to reward anyone's reading.

Records

B. H. Haggin

LONDON'S second group of Oiseau-Lyre recordings offers Mozart's lovely Clarinet Concerto K. 622 with the refined tone and phrasing of Jacques Lancelot in the solo part and fine playing by the orchestra under Louis de Froment. The reproduced orchestral sound is poor. On the reverse side a Mozart work I care less for, the Sinfonia Concertante K. Anh. 9 for oboe, clarinet, bassoon, and horn, has in addition the similar tone and phrasing of Pierre Pierlot, oboe, and less distinguished playing by Paul Hongne, bassoon, and Gilbert Coursier, horn. Good orchestral sound on this side.

Haydn's charming Harpsichord Concerto in D is played well by Isabelle Nef with the Lamoureux Concerts Chamber Orchestra under Pierre Colombo. On the reverse side are Johann Christian Bach's Symphonies Op. 18 No. 4 and Op. 9 No. 2, which I find uninteresting.

And of the four chamber works of Carl Philipp Emanual Bach on another record I like only the Quartet in G for harpsichord, flute, viola, and cello, which is played well by Irmgard Lechner, Kurt Redel, Georg Schmid, and Martin Bochmann.

The record French Masters of the Harpsichord gave me the agreeable surprise of a number of fine pieces by D'Anglebert, D'Andrieu, Rameau, Daquin ("Les Bergères"), and Louis and François Couperin that I had never heard before—together with pieces by Chambonnières and a Musette et Tambourin of Daquin that I didn't care for. Superb performances by Isabelle Nef.

Also, the sixteenth-century Parisian songs that are sung well by a vocal group under Fernand Lamy on another record turned out to be, most of them, charming, with a few serious ones that are lovely and moving. But François Couperin's Troisième Concert Royal and La Steinquerque, played on two harpsichords by Isabelle Nef and Ruggero Gerlin, I find uninteresting.

Another record offers a few excerpts from Purcell's "The Fairy Queen," including the superb aria *O let me ever, ever weep,* and a few excerpts from his "Masque of Timon of Athens," including the equally fine song *The cares of lovers.* Beautiful singing by the soprano Margaret Ritchie, and good playing by the orchestra under Anthony Lewis. The beginning of the overture of "Timon" comes off the record—or at any rate out of my summer machine—a buzzing confusion.

And finally, on three records, Bach's St. John Passion, in which again I find the superb opening chorus and other choral passages more impressive than most of the pieces for the soloists. The performance, paced and shaped effectively by Kurt Thomas, has an outstanding tenor, Herbert Hess, an excellent soprano, Gunthild Weber, a moderately good contralto, Sibylla Plate, and a good bass, Paul Grümmer; a chorus, the Kan-

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torei der Dreikönigskirche in Frankfurt, whose sopranos get to be shrill in loud passages; and the excellent Collegium Musicum Orchestra. The choral climaxes are clouded as though by reverberation.

From Vanguard a record with Dvorak's fine Gypsy Songs Op. 55, of which the best-known "Songs My Old Mother Taught Me" turns out to be surpassed by the others. Also several of Brahms's songs in folk style, and his "Wiegenlied," "Mädchenlied," "Vergebliches Ständchen," and "Dort in den Weiden"—a little sugary at times, but on the whole some of the better Brahms writing that is to be found in his songs. Exquisite singing by the soprano Anny Felbermayer and fine piano-playing by Victor Graef, which come off the record admirably balanced.

Some of Tchaikovsky's characteristically exquisite melodic writing is heard in the so-called second subject of the first movement of his Symphony No. 2 —but in a context of sonata-allegro hubbub and manipulation that is uninteresting. The other movements, which make no such symphonic pretensions, are more engaging. Beecham's performance with his Royal Philharmonic on a Columbia record would be good if he didn't indulge in one of his excessively slow tempos that changes the second movement from an Andantino marziale to a funeral march.

Continuing my remarks on the minimum cost of the merely good—as against the best—in reproducing equipment, I would say that the minimum for a speaker is the price of the Altec-Lansing 600-B. I say this on the basis of my present experience with the University Diffusicone 12 of my summer set-up: it is as good a cheap speaker as one can get; but it isn't the true-, the natural-sounding speaker that costs at least the price of the Altec-Lansing 600-B. Also, it isn't the speaker to use, as I am doing, with a first-class amplifier: one should, I have now learned, combine components on the same quality-level. One gains nothing from a fine wide-range amplifier if it is used with a cheap speaker; and if it is used with a cheap motor one gains only the rumble that would not be reproduced by a limited-range amplifier.

As for the minimum cost of the good in amplifiers, that is something I would like to postpone.

Letters

Our Public Schools

Dear Sirs: I have just read with great satisfaction Dr. James C. Bay's article, Our Public Schools: Are They Failing? in your June 26 issue. I congratulate you on it.

It may interest you to know that I am preparing an article for educational journals which will include a list of the publications which I think have a place in school libraries. *The Nation* will certainly be on the list.

HARL R. DOUGLAS, Director,
College of Education,
Boulder, Colo. University of Colorado

Dear Sirs: I read Mr. Bay's article with considerable awe, since it is one of the most accomplished pieces of question-begging I have encountered in a rather long career in teaching and editing. Mr. Bay asserts that the fact that public- and private-school students make comparable scores on college-board examinations proves conclusively that they are equally well trained. This, as Mr. Bay must know, is figure-juggling. For one thing, students who take college boards do not represent the total populations of either the public or private schools. For another, they represent a substantially higher proportion of the students in private schools than of those in public schools. It is usually the best students in the public schools who take college-board examinations. Finally, the whole college-board question is irrelevant in states where the state universities are required to accept any graduate of an accredited high school in the state and must therefore attempt to cope with students who write like Mr. Bay's example. The problem this creates Mr. Bay ignores; I, like thousands of other teachers who must cope with it, know how serious it is.

Beyond answering an obvious "no" to the question of whether or not the high schools should graduate a student of the kind Mr. Bay describes, I would like to ask another question. Is a student who writes an illiterate composition to celebrate the importance of his having learned the "English language" competent to make proper discriminations in an age of propaganda? Does he have the intellectual responsibility required to see through the camouflages of McCarthyism? Armed now with a high-school diploma, is he not likely to go on through life making ignorant judgments with no sense that he has the responsibility of *knowing* that he is right, and falling for anyone smart enough to make the false seem true to him? And do not the schools have the duty of trying to develop this sense of intellectual responsibility, of grounding the student in the basic disciplines, rather than passing him happily along in the belief that his life needs are being filled, on the undemocratic assumption that he probably couldn't learn anything as difficult as reading, writing, and arithmetic? How do you know unless you try?

There is a fairly general assumption, eagerly supported by the educationists, that anyone who criticizes the public schools is at one with Allen Zoll and Lucille Crain. This is a dangerous fallacy. The questions that Bestor and others have raised are concerned primarily with whether the schools are producing graduates who are equipped to function as citizens in a democracy, or whether they are producing graduates who will be conformists because they have not developed the intellectual equipment necessary to resist the pressures toward conformity. This is a large question, and the whole future of democracy in America depends on it. It is no accident, for example, that in any given college the Department of Classics or English is almost certain to be considerably more liberal than the Department of Education. It is no accident that controversial issues are being thrown out of our school windows every day. Of course teachers and administrators are not responsible for the existing pressures toward conformity, but if they believe in education they have a responsibility to resist them. They cannot do this by catering to "life needs" rather than making intellectual demands. The school cannot legislate away the fact that some people are more able than others. What democracy must have is a means of finding the most able people in every generation, regardless or race, creed, color, or inheritance, and giving them a chance to develop their capabilities to the utmost. The school should be the one agency for doing this. But it will not be that until it makes rigorous demands and requires fulfilment of these demands for certification.

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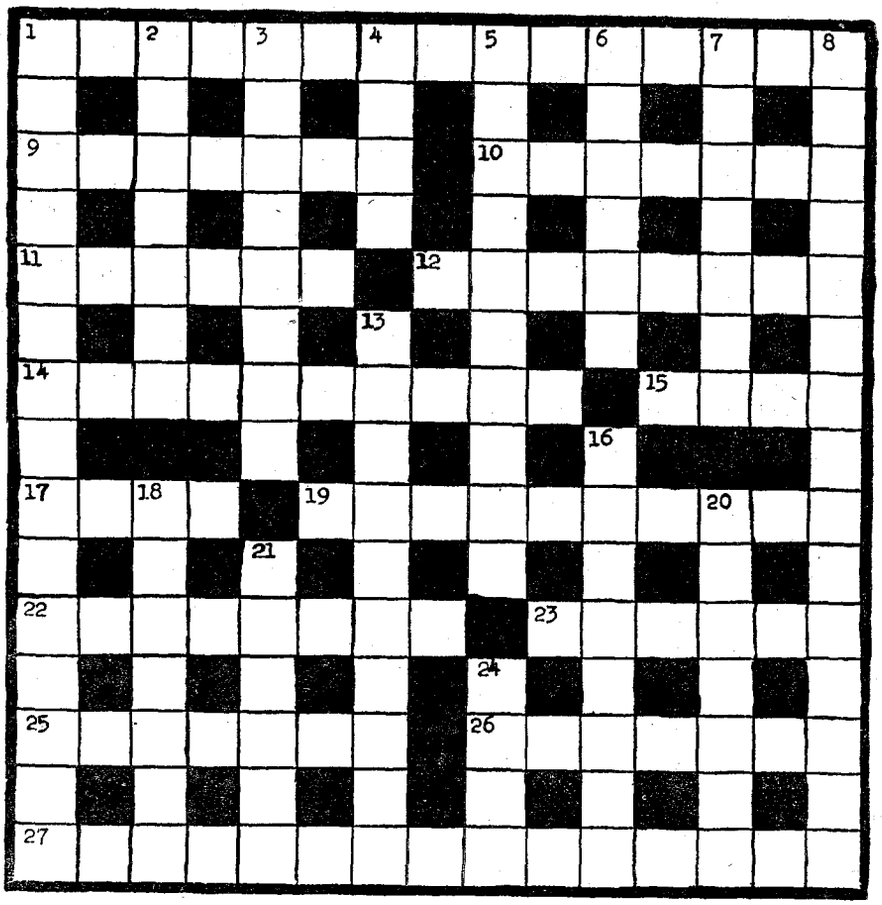

ACROSS

1 If you want an example of its carrier, stick down under (unless it's the tank). (8, 7)
9 Old instrument bag, however. (7)
10 It might logically wash 13 down. (7)
11 Travel book? (6)
12 Cut everything back in the plant. (8)
14 Strains. (10)
15 Move slowly part of the foot. (4)
17 A small lock. (4)
19 Uses a man in the writing profession. (10)
22 You might find us nice, in a way, about an awful bother. (8)
23 Mouths, but not quite to kiss. (6)
25 Bad humor with a twisted tail, referring to a sort of splice. (7)
26 What a 19 might have done. (7)
27 This consists of Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise. (3, 6, 6)

DOWN

1 Was 10 to back poverty with weightlifting? (5, 3, 4, 3)
2 Scale to compound food and medicine? (7)
3 These animals should have a stubborn streak. (8)
4 Gains back in 1 down. (4)
5 Breaking up weapon evaluation? (10)
6 Does the Tribune have no heart! (6)
7 This might go on in all fatty substance. (7)
8 This work certainly demands breeding. (6, 9)
13 Edible little worms? (10)
16 The lodestar of painting? (3, 5)
18 Do a spotty painting job? (7)
20 Friar Laurence said they do that run fast. (7)
21 A deer, but usually called an elk. (6)
24 Being the same, either way. (4)

—★—

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 576

ACROSS:—9 DELIVER; 10 OPHIDIA; 11 OCEANS; 12 ESTRANGE; 14 SLIPPER; 15 CALIF; 19 RANSACK; 23 SUMMIT; 25 ANTONIO; 26 PRESUME; 27 BREAD AND BUTTER.

DOWN:—1 ANDROCLES; 2 and 8 ROLLER SKATE; 3 NOVENNIAL; 4 EARS; 6 ICHOR; 7 ORDINAL; 13 and 5 OPERATE ON A SHOESTRING; 15 CHALUMEAU; 16 FIRST GEAR; 18 AUDITOR; 20 KUMQUAT; 21, 17, 21 across, 1 across WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH A DRUNKEN SAILOR; 22 WANDA; 24 SPUD.

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